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CHRIST OR BARABBAS?

*A Series of Lectures on
Social Reconstruction*
By REV. WM. P. O'BOYLE



Published under the auspices of the Knights of Columbus
of British Columbia

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Vancouver, B. C., May 20th, 1919.

Dear Father O'Boyle,

Your series of addresses on the social question is profoundly interesting and instructive. This is indeed the all important question of the hour. Employers, working-men and statesmen are all engaged, if happily they can seek a solution. But since Leo. XIII. gave his illuminating letters to the world, now nearly thirty years ago, I do not think I have seen anything clearer or more convincing than your splendid discourses.

You go straight to the root of the trouble and furnish perfect principles for its solution. Statesmen, it goes without saying, will be quite willing to accept and adopt these principles as you put them. The great body of employers will not be unwilling to do likewise, if we except a few that may be considered the pirates of the commodities of life. It remains for us to convince workingmen of their justice and equity. I doubt not that the great body of these latter will also be found interested and but too willing to find a just solution of their difficulties, a means of prevention or cure of destitution, a way to obtain their just share of the profits of business and the comforts of life, without the overthrow of the present system, or the destruction of civilization as advocated by the extremists on their side.

I recommend your publication with the fullest approval to fair-minded men, as I am sure compose the great bulk of our citizens, and I have all confidence it will aid very considerably toward the promotion of peace and comfort in society.

†T. CASEY,
Archbishop of Vancouver

FOREWORD

At the risk of incurring the scorn of the would-be emancipated class, who fancy that the Church is a lost cause and the pulpit a nuisance, the undersigned has ventured to print six Lenten sermons on the social unrest which appears to be rapidly approaching the zero hour.

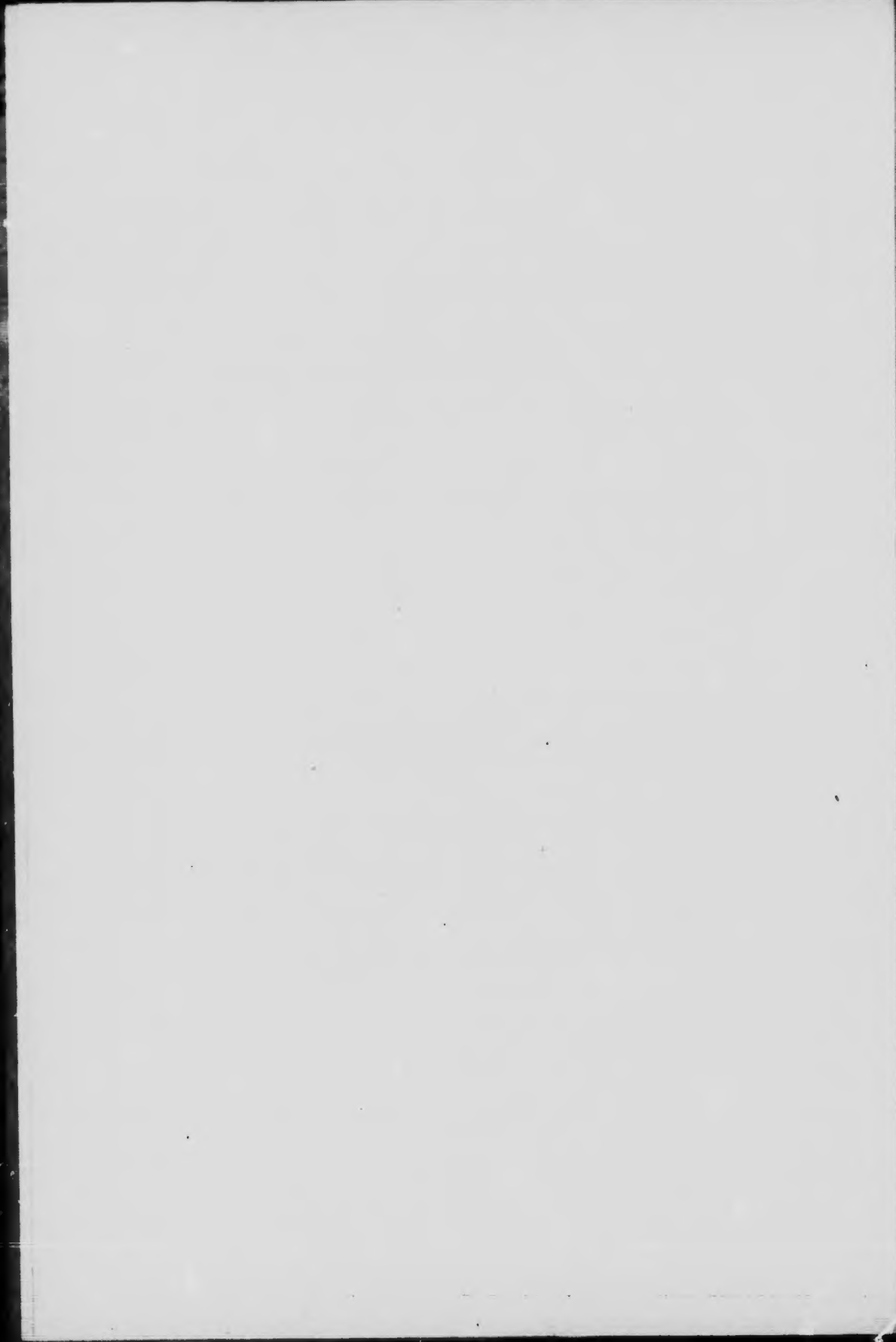
The endeavor has been to make plain the Catholic view on the problem of reconstruction, without offense to friends of other creeds, with instinctive sympathy for labor, and with uncompromising hostility to subversive forces that tend to undermine patriotism, religion and respect for law.

The keynote of the program outlined is the substitution of an aristocracy of service based on the highest Christian ideals in lieu of the aristocracies of money or of politics which have been the blind guides of democracy.

Whether the pamphlet will serve to kindle a fire in the kitchen stove or a fire in the hearts of home-loving and God-fearing readers, there is consolation in the thought that at least it is evidence of recognition of the duty that makes each one of us a public servant, according to his capacity and opportunity.

Wm. P. O'BOYLE, O.M.I.

Permissu Superiorum.



The Encyclical on the "Condition of Labor"

IN those days again when there was a great multitude and they had nothing to eat, calling his disciples together, he said to them—'I have compassion on the multitude.'—(St. Mark, VIII, 2.)

We can picture the Saviour standing by the sea of Galilee facing the crowd of half pagan citizens of Decapolis. Some of them, perhaps, had homes like to that of His friends in Bethany. There were probably none of the class of His well-to-do friend Zachaeus. But we are sure there was an abundance of His nearest friends, the common people, of whom someone has said "God must have loved them for He made so many of them." Looking at the starved, expectant group, He visualised in them the disinherited of all time, and making their lot His own, He exclaimed "I have compassion!"

So too in every age the Church that personates Christ throughout the ages, sent as He was sent, is moved to compassion at the spectacle of suffering humanity. So too she stands ready with an answer to the incredulous query—"Whence can anyone fill them here with bread in the wilderness?"

The world has wandered far into a wilderness of barren hopes. The high prophecies of materialism have come to naught; the dead sea apples of humanitarian pride have turned to ashes, and people starve for nourishment, not only of body, but of soul. But Christ is with them on their pilgrimage, even in this twentieth century. Yet how dubious many are, and incredulous as of old. They may recognise the Church as a wondrous phenomenon, in strength of organisation, religious vitality and continuity of principle, but they deem Her strength 'merely the wiry vitality of persistent old age in one who has outlived her time.' They claim that She has been outstripped by nineteenth century civilisation, and relegated to the past. Now that this boasted materialistic civilisation is found wanting, what help is there?

It may be that a miracle is at hand. Do you note an instinctive turning to God's holy religion as our only safety in a crisis when governments are discredited, laws reviled, and morals derided. And as the economic stress grows, the world that has gloried so long in its disobedience to spiritual authority is beginning to turn to the Church, dimly realising that She has been shackled, and that the civilisation which She made was stolen from Her, and prostituted to base ends. Take for one evidence the Church Union movement. And to a world thus prepared, Christ has again pronounced the pregnant words, "I have compassion on the multitude."

He did it in the person of his Vicar, Leo XIII., and no voice since Christ's own has spoken with such deep and loving sympathy—no one but Christ's Vicar could so speak, and no Vicar of Christ had such an opportunity. For never was the world so exposed to the evils of economic abuses; and never was the world so much in touch and conscious of its want, never were the ends of earth so drawn together within reach of call, as in the latter end of the century when He published the 'Encyclical on the Condition of Labor.'

Of course in certain circles where the Gospel is not dispensed or rather dispensed with, the words of the good shepherd are dismissed as vague and general, no doubt because he does not attempt to discuss, much less endorse, every pet theory of the hour that goes glimmering when a new kind of agitator appears. The scope of the Encyclical is the formulation of principles which if followed will save the world 'lest it faint on the way.' Right principles are the only foundation of stable reform. Right principles are all important nowadays when the economic faddist is abroad, and self-appointed saviours are squabbling. How many platforms we have to-day—the British Labor Manifesto—the American Federation of Labor view—the Quaker program of co-operation—the so-called palliative devices of the capitalist, not to speak of what may come from the proposed Socialistic Conference at Berne or the get-together meeting of the Bolsheviks, the Spartacans and the I.W.W. From some of these quarters we may expect to find fallacies adopted and promulgated in sophistical language as basic truths.

You will note that in all this modern clamor for a new era the human note is becoming every day more insistent, and the dignity of man is appealed to as though a new find. It was Leo XIII. who first sounded this call, and urged Social Economy as distinct from mere Political Economy. Before him a treatise on Political Economy was as dismal as a dictionary, and the highbrows and the lowbrows wrangled in statistics about supply and demand, profit and loss, labor and wages. The Pope spoke of a living wage with the accent on 'living.' With him health, morals and permanent happiness are the issues, and finance and commerce are secondary.

The Encyclical is divided into four parts, viz:- The Nature of Human Society; Socialism; State Intervention and The Worker.

Human society he defines to have rights which cannot be abolished by the State. These rights he founds on the natural law. First the individual has a right to a living prior to State authority, because he is older than the State and antecedent to it. Further, since man is a reasoning being, not an animal living day by day, his privilege is freely to provide for the future, and for a permanent one. This is what makes for progress, but not in the sense of the materialistic interpretation of history, for man does not live on bread alone. Then by industry of mind and body a man leaves the impress of personality on his product, and consequently the result of his labor belong to him. It follows that the giving of the earth to the race does not exclude private possession of land or property, nor remuneration for toil, and this is sanctioned by the public opinion and practice of the past.

Moreover this inalienable right to a personal lien in order to live and progress, is founded on man's social and domestic duties. The family is anterior to every kind of state or government and is the unit of society. The child is in a true sense an extension of the personality of its parents. Therefore the State cannot at will abolish the parental right to provide for parental responsibility.

Confirming all this is the divine law: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods." This holds for the 'Haves' and the 'Have nots' to-day as in the days of Moses.

The Encyclical then proceeds to denounce on this premise all systems of alleged reform that deny natural right to private ownership, or claim that it is lawful to re-organise society on a basis of enforced community of goods.

This theory of expropriation underlies most socialism of which there are so many varieties. A Socialist may be one who wishes to nationalise land and wages or land only or wages only. He may stand for state ownership of public utilities. The Socialist who is condemned is not the one who advocates State co-operation or control in aid of the individual, but the one who makes the State omnipotent, denies the right to private property, and as a corollary of this assumes the absolute equality of all, which would reduce society to a uniform level. This assumption is contrary to common sense, and is contradicted by the conditions of life where the gifts of nature and the products of free will always make for inequality unless natural right to freedom and initiative be unjustly restrained.

The Pontiff next points out the only cure for society—return to the Church—the only church the Christian era knew up to the last four hundred years—the Catholic Church which Christ Himself founded, and which in turn created the Christian world.

For three centuries the world has been in revolt against this Church, and thrown away vital principles of faith, indissoluble matrimony, Christian education, and obedience to a spiritual head. Followed a weakening of the sanction of moral laws, until human progress like in its most refined state in ancient Greece and in its highest attainment in ancient Rome is in danger of perishing by internal corruption.

Canon law which represented the overlordship of God's law, was ruled out of Court, and in its place were substituted sanctions depending in the long run on selfish interpretation. The worst result of this was a tendency to look to material progress as the end of life, and this tendency has in our day developed into a craze for money and the things money can buy, and has given to us predatory wealth, and the scandal of luxury.

That the Church was on the verge of a golden age after the industrial peace of the Middle Age is the opinion of many. The Church had the machinery in a law where justice was perfected by mercy and officialism removed by the inspiration of charity. The poor were Her special care, and the dignity of man was made sure by the inculcation of his spiritual life whereby he could call his soul his own. In Her program God had rights, and injustice because of its might had not the last word.

But the philosophy which found a vogue after a great revolt, in the long run made evolution its God and led to the materialistic interpretation of history denying the soul, and making man first an animal, then a machine.

When the natural consequences of exaggerated individualism began to press on the cost of living, they turned to the State to have the State own and control everything. And then again suspicious of the State in the hands of the money power and subservient to politics, the worst of all monopolies, certain leaders of the restless proletariat threaten to smash everything in order to begin all over again, on the theory that no system of economics and government can be worse than the present one.

The Pope points out that the role of State intervention has its place, that it must benefit every order, but that it must not interfere with inherent rights, and he declares that until men themselves are reformed no machinery they make will be reliable.

Turning then to the workers, the Vicar of Christ points out clearly their liberty to work for a just wage, or to refuse an unjust one, the right to demand a just wage or to stop work, in other words the right to strike.

Concerning what constitutes a just wage, he says, "There is a dictate more ancient and more imperious than any bargain between man and man, viz., the remuneration must be sufficient to support the wage-earner in reasonable comfort with room for self-improvement and recreation, also that he may provide for the future of himself and family. Over and above this minimum, initiative and skill should be rewarded. He suggests over and above the minimum wage an adequate one and points out that long hours, hard work and low pay make wages unjust, and that such a situation is a public affair concerning others than the contracting parties, viz., their families and the general public.

Here the State can intervene, assist arbitration and regulate not only wages, but such things as women and child labor, hygiene, insurance, recreation needs and means of self-improvement.

He next advocates the multiplication of property owners in an equitable division, to develop production, to allay class friction, and to make for love of home and country. There is a great deal in the quip of the man who said, "I can imagine myself laying down my life for my home, but hardly for my boarding-house." The Socialist usually has little stake in the community and is not a patriot.

Leo XIII. goes on to the approval of working men's associations now known as Unions, so that by collective bargaining there may be a more even chance of just agreement. To associate for legitimate objects is a natural right, and cannot be destroyed by the State. It has the precedent of the guilds of the Middle Ages.

How wisely the Pontiff anticipated in 1891 the excesses of the money power, which devoid of a sense of stewardship, avails itself of competition unrestrained, usury, unfair contracts and combines, to the end that "a very small number of very rich men have been able to lay on the masses of the people a yoke little better than slavery itself;" how wisely he anticipated the vagaries of the latest form of unrest, that movement which not only denies the right of property and saps initiative, but also ridicules such expedients as unions, arbitration, and remedial legislation, as palliative devices of the master class to hold their usurped power! And seeing too, how class hatred would be invoked to serve as a soul for a movement designed to utterly destroy the Christian order, no wonder the Vicar of Christ insists on a return to religion. For he saw that with such an atmosphere, it was to be not merely a bread and butter quarrel, but a human movement, not ringed round by economics, but involving issues of morality and ethics, the only sufficient sanction of which is religion which they affect to despise. And therefore he appeals for a return to Christ as the only remedy "Lest humanity faint by the way."

It may be that a miracle is at hand, and that the world is to be saved from disaster by the reunion of Christendom to break bread once more together in the unity of faith.

Causes of Social Unrest

"With desolation is all the land made desolate; because there is none that considereth in the heart." (Jeremiah XII. 11.)

THERE is abroad a feeling of anxiety as to the stability of the present form of our democratic institutions. Men in touch with the spirit of the times are convinced of the imminence of a conflict between the great forces of capital and labour. There is abundant class friction, not, as in the days before the French Revolution, between the bourgeois or middle class and a nobility which has now practically ceased to be, but between the bourgeois or property-owning business men or employers, and the proletariat or wage earners. Discontent and distrust of the present economic system has been engendered in the hearts of the latter, often called the labor class, by wage and cost of living grievances ascribed to the tyranny of the money power and to the greed of the profiteer. Radicals have used these grievances to induce labor movements to endorse a program, not only of expropriating the expropriators, but also of scrapping the hitherto accepted machinery of government.

To dismiss as an alarmist any one who calls attention to this situation is to renew the folly of the Bourbons, who never forgot anything and never learnt anything. To say "Those fellows" meaning the agitators, "will be begging for jobs when the wage scale drops" is on a par with the self-complacent sally of that princess of the court of Louis XVI., who, when told that the populace was clamoring for bread, said "Let them eat cake!" Her head on a pike paraded the streets of Paris shortly after.

Nor is it evidence of sagacity to declare disdainfully that these grievances are exaggerated, and that we have sufficient machinery of government to cope with all difficulties in time. The subversive forces will not wait. It is not only a tide of economic reaction, it is a program guided by clever brains, and the reason for anxiety is that some of the guides would make of these grievances a leverage, not alone to right the disturbed equilibrium, but as well to overthrow the foundations of Christian society. Their remedy is not medicine but amputation, and that a very major operation, viz., decapitation.

The problem is an actual one, and so full of danger, that it is the duty of everyone to give thought to it, and to work for a proper solution, since it concerns everyone. 'Tis a sense of duty as pastor and citizen that prompts me to submit to you thoughts that may help you in turn to think in your hearts, for only by thinking can we form a correct notion of the underlying cause of the struggle. To know the cause is the first step towards the solution of the problem. Things do not happen by chance.

There are three schools of thought, the superficial, the moderate and the radical.

Some superficial thinkers claim that the revolt is founded on the gospel of laziness, and they advocate a round-up of tramps and idlers; some that it is due to ignorance, and they plan courses in economics and scientific co-operation; some see in it alien intrigue and they urge deportation and the restriction of immigration; some ascribe our trouble to the aftermath of war, unemployment, and recommend bureaus and public works.

The moderate reformer, while making allowances for a quantum of truth in all these, blames the sinister influence of the back-stairs lobby of the money power and manipulation of the courts of law, for the social inefficiency of governments in the past, and resents equally a certain catering to the noisy element of labor, when votes are at stake. He proposes a remedy in a purified and representative ballot in future elections. His program is constitutional evolution along lines of labor legislation that will prevent exploitation, secure living wages, and give equal opportunity to all.

But not a few claim to be 'class conscious.' They think that the system is wrong, that the competitive regime of capital corners products rightfully belonging to the workers, in order to perpetuate his status as a wage slave, and they advocate production for use only, the abolition of profit, interest, and rent, and the taking over of industry by the workers, on a socialist, or again on a syndicalistic or a communistic basis, by the ballot, but preferably by the general strike, and by the bullet if expedient.

The world to-day is sizzling with cerebation conscious and unconscious on this problem. We are assisting at the biggest convention of mind-healers in history. We fear for the patient, for doctors are said to bury mistakes. If they fail in this diagnosis it may be the end.

No doubt laziness, ignorance and disloyalty play a part in swelling the forces of discontent; no doubt the greed of vested interests has gone far on the path of injustice; no doubt legal statutes are often behind the times and improperly enforced—but these disabilities for the real thinker, the one who considereth in his heart, are merely symptoms of a cause of causes deeper down. They are wrongs, sins if you will, and the root of sin is human perversity.

Perverted human nature is a factor often lost sight of by well-meaning reformers who proceed on the assumption that humanity can save itself. Human nature is perverted, and no matter what man-made schemes are devised to make society perfect and happy, human nature will interfere. Society is not inherently changed by resolutions or by new experiments in economics and government, no more than a man is changed by wearing a new suit of clothes.

The underlying cause of social unrest to-day is that perverted human nature will insist and persist in doing things that are wrong, and wrong, especially social wrong, brings its retribution in this world. As regards the social sin peculiar to our day we have chapter and verse, "Let no man circumvent or overreach his brother in business, for the Lord is the avenger of all these things." (1 Thess., IV., 6.)

Of course very dogmatic schools of thought affect to discard the doctrine of sin and its source in original sin. The more advanced consider thought itself a sort of chemical reaction, and free will a misnomer,—what we call sin and malice they are accustomed to explain by some obscure malformation of the brain.

This hallucination concerning the existence of sin, disappears with an analysis of the facts of our history as a race. We have but to look around us to know that the material and moral defects of this sad world were not created so, were not intended by a God who is good. Something must have happened. The earliest memories of primitive peoples tell us that something did happen, and that the world is under a ban because of a primal misuse of freewill, the best gift of the Creator. And Scripture confirms by recording that the

race did in the very beginning, by freely rebelling against God, abuse the gift of gifts that made man more than a mere animal; that man was punished where he sinned by the insurgence of his lower animal desires against the control of his sane reasoned will; that when passions thus gain the mastery man lacking the sure instinct of the beast, can and does become worse than any wolf, tiger or fox.

Are we not ourselves witnesses to disobedience in ourselves to the dictates of God's eternal law printed on our hearts, through unruly impulses of pride, of selfishness, of greed and lust, in which by frequent yielding habits are developed that mould character, and fashion a moral obliquity that makes man a law to himself.

'Tis this perverted human nature that makes the rich criminal and the pauper anarchist, and with the industrial dislocation of our day, the tyrant employer and the rebel employee, preparing by social injustice vindictive rebellion, and the wages of sin, which is death.

The modern Dives is a type of sin. He is the captain of industry or money king who combines in restraint of trade, who manipulates caucus and convention, buys votes and candidates, attempts to control the press, and even courts and legislatures, that he may strangle competitors, and make the worker a machine for larger dividends; who, when workers organise, refuses to recognise their only means of self-defense and plays off union against non-union labor; who, when at times forced to disgorge, recoups handsomely by raising the cost of living, or by adulterating his product. His methods are imitated by second and third rate Dives, who recruit what is known as frenzied finance, in constant pursuit of 'high-life,' which they secure by forcing others just as good as they to live in slums. These exploiters are samples of perverted human nature.

Then there is Barabbas the radical. He has forgotten that there is a God in heaven, or that he has a soul to save, and has become an idolator of other gods, the things of earth. Like the Roman pagan 'bread and the circus' limit his ambition, or, like his Scriptural prototypes, he would 'sit down to eat and get up to play.' There were many of his kind at Babel, working to make a brick and mortar short-cut to heaven. When this man looks around and sees the riches of the few and the poverty of many, our old friend human nature rises in revolt, but without a brake, because he is not poor in spirit, and prompts him to break the commandments, and to play in turn the tyrant.

These extremes exhibit a tendency as old as the race, a chronic evil that breaks out in ulcers periodically. To heal this disease of maimed humanity, Christ came with saving grace, to teach a higher law than selfishness, and to point out that the things of this earth are a means, not an end. He came, not alone to convince the world of sin, but that they might have life and life abundantly. He, the divine physician, diagnosed the disease, and provided a serum that would go to the root of it, the practical religion which regenerated paganism.

But the medicine men of later days disowned Him and pinned their faith to incantations about liberty and progress, to plasters and poultices of makeshift reforms, and have nearly killed the patient. The influence of the Divine Physician has been ousted from its appointed place as the informing soul of the world movement. The Redeemer of mankind has been excluded from the universities and schools, and as the State has become more and more secularised,

from the life of the people. What wonder that, deprived of the saving restraining influence of His religion, our old friend, perverted human nature, is very much to the fore with all the passion and brutality of appeals to force.

And now comes a new doctor, be-whiskered like a Russian, and with a sure cure, nothing less than a surgical operation. He promises that it will be very successful, but the patient fears that while the honorarium includes nearly everything in sight, the scheme may mean to cut off his head and take out his heart, which usually leaves the case dead on the table, no matter how successful the operation from the scientific standpoint.

A thinker has already called attention to the parallel between the ailing civilisation of our time, and the decadent last days of pagan Rome, when "rich men ruled the world, its vices blatant, its temples deserted, its oracles dumb, until at last the angry Mediterranean conscience turned on itself, and assaulted its own fables," and he asks—"Is civilisation doomed?" Assuredly, yes! if left to the tinkering of quacks, who fail to take into consideration the hereditary constitutional weakness of the human race. Assuredly, if no thought is given to the only saving influence, that religion which was to be the salt of the earth.

It would appear that the Divine Physician is again on trial. The high-priests of culture have denounced Him. Herod the shifty high-liver, has tried to make a fool of Him. The governments, like Pilate, have washed their hands. There is a cry for Barabbas. The issue is Christ or Barabbas.

The Industrial Problem

"God made man right, and he hath entangled himself with an infinity of questions." (Eccles. VII. 30.)

THE history of civilisation has been marked by successive periods of comparative rest, followed by crises calling for reconstruction. Such a change came in the dawn of modern history, the crisis of Imperial decay in the destruction of the Roman Empire by the northern hordes.

Until central government was reorganised, people unable to shield themselves against raiders sought the protection of the master of some stronghold, and in return rendered him personal service. These chiefs in turn gathered round an outstanding leader or duke to form organised resistance to disturbers of the peace, and thus emerged the feudal system. These were the days of chivalry when knighthood was in its flower.

The feudal system waned as the retainers or serfs gradually grouped in towns, and industry began to thrive. The burghers became the mainstay of society, and with the grouping of the guilds of craftsmen and the spiritual leadership of the Papacy, prepared the long industrial peace of the Middle Age.

About the middle of the fourteenth century came the Black Death, a pandemic which harried the robust civilisation of Europe much more than the influenza did ours. The succeeding chaos gave scope to the practice of usury, and this with the vast importations of gold from the newly discovered Americas, affected the economic balance so that city folks began to prosper at the expense of the peasants, with resultant agrarian troubles.

The unrest was accentuated by the epoch-making secession of northern Europe from central spiritual guidance, made easier by the dearth of spiritual administration due to the decimation of the clergy by the plague. The tendency of the individualistic spirit of the new experiment in religion was to undermine the co-operative movements to such an extent that the guilds broke down.

The unrest culminated in the Peasants' War, after which landed aristocracy gradually became the power of the State.

This domination of a caste of blood, made obnoxious especially by excessive taxation, received its death blow in the French Revolution, a momentous crisis, in which the bourgeois landed in the saddle. The intellectual guides of the revolutionary idea, the Encyclopedists, succeeded in imparting to the new era of commercialism a distinctly secularistic trend. In this way the Encyclopedists, a throw-back from the boasted emancipation of the human mind program of the reform, are responsible for much of the disease of our age which is the age of commercialised democracy. The older democracy of England suffered from the contagion of secularism, and America's notion of liberty, equality and fraternity was in theory well-nigh de-christianised.

Followed the invention of labor-saving machinery and the development and exploitation of natural resources, which afforded the individualistic spirit of the business class, especially in Great Britain, Germany and America opportunity to assert itself in the amassing of capital at the expense of the worker, and the creation of classes of very rich and very poor men. This went on apace until the Great War, with its profiteering on the one hand, and its sequel of famine

and pestilence on the other, brought society to another zero hour, the crisis which portends a further modification of our social system.

In all of these upheavals, economics, the 'feudum' of the serf, the want of the peasant, the tax of the bourgeois, or the wage of the laborer today plays a part, but let it be noted, not the only part. The materialistic interpretation of history which endeavors to explain social evolution by economic contrasts and class struggles alone, is bad history and worse philosophy.

It means the revamping of Haeckel's theories of Darwinian evolution long since discarded by all but the sciolists, since they count God out and utterly fail to explain the origin of life and the genesis of the free-willed animal called man—a pig-philosophy derived from a monkey-philosophy.

It ignores the potent forces of ambition and revenge which in great generals and conquerors have introduced radical changes in the political and social order; it ignores the love of freedom and the spirit of nationality responsible for much of the forward movement of the world; it ignores the enormous influence on civilisation of the literature and art of Greece and Rome; it ignores the power of genius and the work of the inventions of fertile brains, and especially ignores the tremendous import of the message brought twenty centuries ago by the man of Galilee.

But while refuting the cult of matter, it must be admitted that in our materialistic age, the economic factor looms larger than usual. Let us this evening confine ourselves to the examination of the latest economic condition, the industrial problem of our day.

We are told that just before the Great War four per cent. of the people of England held ninety per cent. of its wealth, and that in the United States, two per cent. of its people held sixty per cent. of its wealth, while sixty-five per cent. of its population, representing the working class, had no more than five per cent. The Grain Growers' official organ is authority for the statement that in 1913 forty-two men in Canada controlled on third of its wealth. This means luxury existing side by side with want, and if this be true of the countries mentioned, we may judge of the condition in other countries.

This association of luxury and penury in marked contrast was vividly impressed on me when in 1900 I spent a week in London. Left to my own devices on the first morning of my stay at the Church of the English Martyrs, Tower Hill, for the Rector had a funeral that morning,—funerals will happen—I fared forth to get impressions. Turning to the right, in five minutes I was picking my way through the indescribable slums of Whitechapel district where humanity seems merely to exist, not to live. That afternoon the Rector took me out, and turning to the left, in a few minutes we were in Lombard Street, the richest street in the world, and round about lay the pomp and splendor of banks and monumental buildings, where well fed aristocrats toyed with millions of dollars. The same contrast was borne in on me when last spring in Chicago, I stepped from Michigan Avenue, thronged with its myriad cars of children of fortune, back just one block to Wabash Avenue, with its degradation and squalor.

The reason for this unequal distribution of wealth, cannot be entirely ascribed to laziness, intemperance and improvidence. There is something else, and undoubtedly it is the abuse of an economic system that permits unscrupulous financiers and corporations without souls to hold the fate of millions in their hands on the supposition that they, the owners, can do with their wealth what they please. They are often pleased to accumulate, to amass more and more, not

alone that they may live in luxury, but that they may have power and control.

They are afflicted with the sacred thirst for gold to extremes of intemperance, drunk with it. Take for example the answer of a well-known millionaire magnate, when asked by the Court if he thought ten dollars a week was enough for a longshoreman. He said, "Yes! if that is all he can get and he took it!" Or again the reply of the President of a sugar refinery in the United States in 1900, when asked—"Is it ethically justifiable to make consumers pay dividends on an over capitalization of twenty million dollars?" answered—"It is fair to get all you can consistent with the business proposition. I don't care two cents for your ethics, I don't know enough about them to apply them." These are pirates who scorn equity and consider that laws can be made, or at least rendered inoperative, by money.

When such irresponsible forces combine what chance had a lone worker struggling for sufficient pay, for permanent employment, for decent surroundings and normal hours. The need of united effort to curb injustice called into being groups of various industrial workers, who, as they became more educated and wary, banded together in unions to bargain collectively.

When they locked horns with the captains of industry, and conciliation and arbitration failing, the strike, the sympathetic strike, the lock-out, the boycott, black-listing and picketing became serious matters for the consumer, public attention was drawn to the operations of frenzied finance. And in the fight thus staged public opinion favored labor.

The labor movement in this stage was but an economic one, although labor interests became more and more issues in elections and trust-breaking became in time a political slogan. Statesmen with true democratic instincts essayed to tackle and shackle the octopus by legislation abolishing underselling, watering of stock, and interlocking directorates. Conditions of factory life were investigated by commissioners, and a general house-cleaning was in order.

The general understanding was that capital, the savings of labor, was a necessary factor in the production of wealth, that there were good capitalists, but that the abuse of money power should be curbed. Labor's attitude in respect to capital was that of the moderate, not of the prohibitionist.

But a small faction in a distinct political movement, basing its program on the theories of Marx and Engels, proposed the elimination of capital, and the transfer of the ownership of the means of production and distribution to the people, i.e., to the State. The policy of these socialists was to capture the labor unions by boosting radicals to office in order to control. They inaugurated a propaganda to convey the impression that the horrible examples of perverted capitalists were typical of all. The grievances of the wage earner were so magnified and reiterated in the press and on the platform that the indifferent worker, like the sick man who read the almanac, began to feel that he had all the diseases from anemia to hydrophobia, economically speaking. And the patent red medicine was prescribed "Expropriate the expropriators."

Sober fathers of families with little homes and savings in the bank knew that they too were capitalists of a kind, and they questioned the practicability of a system which tended to destroy initiative and industry, and seemed merely to change the handling of capital from private to political control, to substitute bureaucracy for plutocracy.

When war came, in the great emergency, governments did take over the management, not only of public utilities, but also of natural monopolies and factories. This was hailed by the Socialists as an experiment in socialism which would never be revoked. But enormous deficits, especially in railway management, despite the spur of patriotism, soon dampened enthusiasm. And when working men came to realise in actual experience, that under the new control, to strike meant mutiny and sedition against the State, the fallacy of State Socialism was exploded.

But the radicals had another answer in reserve for the brutal challenge that "a wage was sufficient if he could get it." "All they can get!" they said. "If the formula holds good for the longshoreman it is good for the entire labor class. All they can get is limited by all they produce." And so the syndicalist theories of Bakunin were endorsed by the I.W.W. and kindred radicals.

They claimed that production should be for use only, and that profit, interest and rent should be abolished. They repudiated the disorganised electoral machine of modern democracy, in which motley and promiscuous crowds decide technical issues of which many know next to nothing, in which minorities are notoriously without a voice, and which is being emasculated by initiative, referendum and recall. They proposed instead representation by crafts and industries, in which unions as we know them would disappear, in one big union of the workers of the world. And to objections as to how the communistic distribution of work and its products would be made, and how a central management would be secured, they answered that any system was better than the old one.

Early in the day they showed a disposition to sabotage and to loafing on the job, as means of paralysing capital and they justified these things by claiming that a class war was on. As Clarence Darrow in his defence of the McNamaras indicted for throwing bombs, put it, "Labor cannot secure redress through the laws and the courts, both in the hands of the owning class, and labor's cause being just, the next court of appeal is force!"

In Russia to-day 'mid the chaos of defeat and reaction from Czarism, these subversive theories have been given political form, and tried on the dog, or on the bear if you will, in what is known as the Communist Soviet Republic, commonly called Bolshevik.

So reviewing the industrial situation to-day, we find labor, although in the ascendant, and destined more and more to rule, divided into two camps, one looking to reforms from within, the other to confiscation. Parallel to the development of Bolshevism there is much overhauling of the present machinery by the conservative element representing both capital and labor, along the path of remedial measures.

When discussing a constructive program we shall examine together, whether it be better to run the machine into a telegraph post or take it to a garage; whether or no equality of opportunity may not be provided without destroying all that is worth while in our lives today.

While no less an authority than Charles Schwab expresses his conviction that labor will soon be the controlling power in democracy, there is no reason for apprehension. I leave you the words of Cardinal Gibbons, "I feel no anxiety for the future of our country,—I am sure the working men of the country are men of intelligence. They know that their conditions are better than in similar conditions elsewhere in the world, and that the dispositions of employers is to treat them kindly and generously. They know that any social upheaval would hurt them more than any other class."

Arbitration

"Do not become like the horse and the mule who have no understanding." (Ps. XXXI., 9.)

IN our review of the industrial problem we have noticed, in the struggle between the employer and the employed, a tendency to degeneration into class war, which finds expression more or less sporadic in radical appeals to force. Appeal to force has long been the goal of revolutionary socialism, but what remained but a theory is now taking shape in the definite program of such organisations as the I.W.W. They claim to find a precedent in the appeal to force made by the Central Powers of 'mailed fist,' 'shining armor,' and 'rattling sabre' memory, and again in the answering cry 'force without stint' voiced by the spokesman of the Allies. The world has been given a sample of their strong arm methods in Russia, and to judge from their apostolic propaganda to establish the rule of the proletariat internationally, it would appear that the good time coming, when right not might shall be the law, is indefinitely postponed.

It must be granted that appeals to force are at times justifiable. Even a rank pacifist will rebel by rough treatment an insolent brute who insults his sister. So too, when home and country are invaded, the ethics of war not only permit but prompt armed resistance and a fight to the finish, if necessary, 'pro aris et focis.' 'Tis the last argument of nations.

But these are exceptional cases due largely to the lack of a proper court of appeal. Wars are with truth classed with those acts of God which like famine and pestilence are permitted for the chastisement of peoples.

The expediency of adjusting differences without appeal to force is founded on the self-knowledge gained from the experience of the race, and from our individual self-experience.

Experience amply demonstrates how human it is to be stampeded into violence by prejudice and passions. Passions unrestrained are wild horses that run away with judgment. Every page of history has its story of excesses, of tyranny, of treachery, and of fanaticism in which fair-mindedness was obscured by self-seeking, paralysed by the hypnotism of leaders, or carried away by the influence of what is called the mob spirit. Anger and resentment play a large role in the rash judgments that have led to rash actions, that make history a treasury of man's dishonor, and founded the truth of the aphorism that 'discretion is the better part of valor,' or its modern version 'when you see red count a hundred.'

A great deal of trouble, too, comes from lack of reflection. It has been well said that some people think standing, some pacing to and fro, some sitting, but most people afterwards. Hindsight is responsible for much folly.

Even with the most altruistic motives, cool temper and calm reflection, self-knowledge testifies that private interpretation of justice is an unsafe guide. We are so built that our brain proceeds, not by immediate intuition of the whole truth, but by a discursive way, in which a wrong premise or faulty generalisation or loose deduction may lead us far astray. Hence many men of many minds. Hence

the two sides to every dispute, the pros and cons. Hence the truism that usually neither side of a contention is entirely right or entirely wrong.

There is as well the peculiar psychological fact that the wish is often father to the thought, and men can persuade themselves at times to a habit of conviction. "E'en though vanquished they can argue still."

To remedy these constitutional defects of our make-up, the Creator has endowed us with conscience, and the Redeemer merited saving grace. 'Tis with conscience we are concerned in this discussion, that conscience which developed by association with others, becomes common sense. As we weigh pros and cons in our own interest, there is a silent monitor that interprets our duty to others, and applies to cases the eternal law graven on our hearts, and in perplexity prompts us to seek counsel. All efforts to solve problems in the social order and to prepare paths of peace and harmony that do not reach conscience and ignore the other fellow, must fail.

The desirability of a higher court than sheer strength is founded on the dictate of common sense that might is not necessarily right. Because a man is knocked down does not necessarily prove him wrong, nor is a majority vote infallible, nor were the Germans vindicated because they swamped Roumania.

There is a higher law than retaliation by physical force. The bastard evolution theory of the 'survival of the fittest' by which Nietzsche relegates humanity to the jungle law of iron tooth and bloody claw and the consequent chain of destruction that obtains in the lower order, does not apply to the reasoning being. Man is normally an arbitrating animal.

He is conscious over and above the law of self-preservation, of a duty to the community and to the race. For the good of the whole he brings into play the natural virtues of temperance and prudence to restrain undue fortitude in visiting swift justice on an aggressor. Rather than take the law in his own hands he joins with others in society, so that personal vendetta may be referred to law and constituted authority. In this way the apparatus of courts and judicial procedure have become a part and parcel of all civilisation worthy of the name. Especially is this true of the highest development of civilisation in the democratic institutions of our day. Representative government means a court of appeal by which disputes are referred to the decision of a majority and sometimes further to a supreme court of experts or judges.

Common sense also dictates that discussion and argument generate light from the collision of opposing claims. This light dispels misunderstandings, and shows the way to a solution of the equation, by finding the unknown factors. A true solution must be accepted if the contending parties are sincere. In practice getting together is usually a step towards conciliation; conciliation, a step towards arbitration, and arbitration a step towards agreement.

The common sense of this procedure is endorsed by Holy Writ in a graphic way. "If thy brother shall offend against thee, go and rebuke him, between thee and him alone." Failing in this, "if he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall stand." These are interested parties whose role is mediation. "If he will not hear thee, tell the Church." In other words, if mediation fails, then comes the turn of arbitration, or the referring of a dead lock to a third disinterested

party for settlement. In those days the local Church was a recognised arbitration board. If arbitration be refused, then "Let him be considered a heathen or a publican," i.e., outside the pale of Christian conscience.

Now this procedure, born of the sense of the common brotherhood of man, ordained to protect all concerned and to keep the peace, is perfectly applicable to the problems of our day.

And when those principles are accepted with a higher sanction still, the fatherhood of God, inspiring disinterested love, then will the great peace be at hand. No millenium can be without that charity, "that is patient, is kind, that envieth not, that dealeth not perversely, is not puffed up, is not ambitious, seeketh not her own, is not provoked to anger, rejoiceth not in iniquity."

So long as labor was informed by a Christian soul, it has acted conscientiously along these lines, and from the days of the guilds, experimented with conciliation, mediation, joint conferences and arbitration resulting in substantial agreements.

Mr. Gompers, speaking for thirty years of the labor movement in the United States for twelve thousand unions said, "There is no general or local organization that does not provide for conciliation or arbitration in its constitutions." That this voluntary reasonableness is a labor tradition may be gathered from the record of the most prominent group, the International Typographical Union. In 1871 their Convention ruled: "Whereas experience has demonstrated the pernicious effects of strikes, generally resulting disastrously to journeymen and employees, resolved that the I. T. U. urgently recommends to subordinate unions, settlement of all disputes on scales of prices to arbitration." In 1884 the Convention stipulated that strikes were permissible only "after every effort at arbitration failed, and then on a three-fourth vote of the membership." In 1901 a formal agreement to arbitrate was entered on by the I. T. U. and the Publishers' Association, which prepared a long period of peace, and enabled the union in 1908 to secure the closed shop and the eight hour day. And in 1912 these intelligent workmen went on record for the need of arbitration machinery not only to settle disputes but to anticipate them.

This is the kind of collective bargaining that with Government aid, and the support of public opinion, will clarify issues, and if fair play be at all a human thing, ensure an equitable distribution of the products of industry. It has already secured such boons as the minimum wage, housing enactments, old age, accident and unemployment insurance, mothers' pensions, and is on the way to new ventures in profit sharing and co-operative management. And the more mutually voluntary these agreements are, the better. Lasting peace is the reward of men of good will.

Good will includes recognition of the sanctity of contracts freely agreed to, in a sense of honor that prevents their invalidation by any advantage taken of technicalities by employers, or by any imposition of incompetent craftsmen by unions just because they have union cards. Good will includes also a feeling of responsibility on both sides for the welfare of a third party, the general public.

There are no difficulties in the industrial problem today, whether the dead weight of capital, the lack of responsibility in insurgents, or old foggy laws, that cannot be removed by good will in concili-

ation and arbitration. The will of the people is secured in the long run by the votes of the people who constitute the supreme court of arbitration. What better the Bolsheviks can offer than the ballot is a mystery.

The Bolshevik is a peculiar cuss. He preaches class hatred, scorns arbitration, and denounces its successes as palliatives that hold the wage earners to the system. He would have capital and labor glare at each other like china dogs on a mantel-piece, until he can install himself in their place as "Billikins," the 'god of things as they ought to be.' There is a reason. There is a good deal of horse sense in the community yet, and his 'community of goods' theory has some awkward ethical deductions. So he works through secret committees, which while deprecating violence, prepare the general strike, with its sure prospect of starvation, riot and violence in the end. Like the Kaiser he relies on force and speaks of 'the day' when the inexorable tide of the new Kultur will break down the barriers. His Marx and the Kaiser's Bernhardt get their inspiration from the same source.

Fundamental Principles of Reconstruction

"Teach me goodness and discipline and knowledge." (Psalms. CXVIII:66.)

THE economic grievances that have prepared our social unrest and given a fulcrum to the Bolshevik in his plan to overthrow our present economic and administrative system are due in part to defects of the system itself, in greater part to abuse of the system, and in greatest part to the defects of the people who so fondly claim they make their own government. The right kind of representatives shun public life, and the right kind of voters are apathetic in the use of organization and the ballot. The result is that the voice of the people is, rather than the voice of God, more often the voice of the politician or of perniciously active minorities.

In the reform and reconstruction of democracy suffering from careless management, it is imperative to take steps to develop the right kind of citizen. The right kind is the one who not only has an intelligent, independent and conscientious view on all interests concerned, but who takes an active part in doing his manifest duty.

Some are vigilant on the administration of public funds because they pay taxes; some are interested in sanitation on account of their family; some in schools because they have children; others in good roads because they have a car. And of course there are some who see in everything the interests of the great Liberal or the great Conservative party.

This is better than absolute indifference, but an activity, circumscribed by private advantage such as this, falls short of the Christian ideal of citizenship which means active concern with general welfare, knows no limitations, to which nothing human is stranger, which is born of love of one's neighbour expressing itself in terms of service and sacrifice.

The intelligent, independent and conscientious judgment, motivated by love of one's neighbour may be defined as Christian principle, but it cannot be Christian and remain a passive thing; it is not arm-chair virtue. It is true that in action it postulates courage, for it does not pay and is not popular. It often means the enmity of the men, unscrupulous politician; it means to be misunderstood, misinterpreted, even ridiculed; it involves sacrifice of time and treasure and must wait for vindication—but only when this principle informs the majority as a living impulse, is democracy the best form of government. Only those who have sufficient intelligence and morality can govern themselves, and only those who do so are worthy of democracy.

If this is true of government it is especially true of civic management, the heart of it. Local self-government is a feature of our institutions necessary for the exercise of liberty just as federation is necessary for its preservation. If the municipality rots, the state decays. Especially in our day the fate of the commonwealth depends

on municipal good government since the city tends more and more to give trend to our civilisation and to determine its character.

As to this tendency of the city to dominate the State, it may be said that in the United States in 1860, the urban population was less than nine per cent. of the whole, while in 1900 it was thirty-seven per cent. In fifteen states of the Union the urban population is now in the majority, and in eight states, two-thirds of the total. Vancouver, as you know, includes about half the population of British Columbia; Vancouver is bound to grow, and in this connection it is noteworthy that Odessa, a Russian seaport, one thousand years old, received about nineteen-twentieths of its population during the last century.

This influence of the City on the State is germane to the discussion of present ills of representative institutions, and to the suggestions of remedies. Social unrest has its cradle in the cities, especially in the cities of rapid growth. 'Tis in the cities that industrial activity centres; there too the unemployed, the alien and the criminal gather; there the vice and speculation interests focus; there the ingreience of ignorance, wretchedness, luxury and vice prepare as someone has well said—'social dynamite,' ready to be touched off by subversive propaganda. Considering the story of some American cities it may be that Wendell Phillips was a prophet when he said—"the time will come when our cities will strain our institutions as never slavery did."

In cities especially then becomes imperative that right kind of citizenship which is the translation of Christian principle into action. It has been often wanting, to judge from the experimenting in make-shifts of mayoral autocracy, ward systems, boards of control and commissions—so much so that when a Seattle mayor in an emergency does the obvious thing, he is hailed as a rare and extraordinary magistrate.

That right kind of citizenship imperative for all plans of reconstruction, municipal or governmental is born of three things, education, character, and a spirit of co-operation, to invert the order of the text from the Psalm, "knowledge and goodness and discipline." These are fundamental.

Concerning education, an illiterate citizen is bad enough, but a citizen imbued with false ethical and economic ideas is worse. The man who is lopsided intellectually, whether his bias be "big business" or 'expropriation of the expropriators,' is dangerous. It behooves the ideal citizen not only to know what is going on, but not to let his opinions be made to order by censored press editorials or by radical wind-bags.

For instance he should have sound views on that bone of contention—capital. While realizing that it has been prostituted to base uses, he must see in it essentially the savings of labor, a legitimate and necessary factor in the production of wealth, and he should understand that wealth is not properly money, but commodities used for human needs. He should know that the accumulation of capital within normal bounds is an incentive to initiative, because the lazy shiftless man does not worry about the savings of labor. He may attempt to steal them. He should know that labor co-operates with capital to produce wealth, as two blades of a scissors give form to and divide up raw material; that capital, if you will, is the electric spark in the motor car which combines with the gasoline, or motive force of labor both manual and mental, to move the machinery of the

world. Because capital is a silent force, he should not be deceived into thinking that it does not create business and thus employment for labor. And knowing these things he will perceive how unscientific are the Socialists who would kill the goose that lays the golden eggs, reminiscent of the fabled members who revolted against the stomach because it seemed to do nothing.

Again, an intelligent citizen should know that the materialistic interpretation of history is a fallacy that vitiates all Socialism. To say that our social institutions, including ethics and religion, are determined by economic causes alone, and are the resultant of an age-long struggle for food, is logically to deny Providence, free-will, religion, and patriotism.

Again, he should be aware of the notoriously irreligious character of Socialistic agencies, from their great authorities down to our Bolshevik apostles and our local red press, and that when agitators attempt to cover up this repugnant feature, it is merely to entrap labor naturally Christian, as was done when the Socialist Convention in the United States in 1908 declared that "Socialism is primarily an economic and political movement," and yet "that it is not concerned with matters of religious belief." It so happened that fifty per cent. of the membership of labor unions were Catholics who needed to be re-assured. They ought to know by this time what Socialism is 'secondarily.'

Further, the intelligent citizen should know that under Socialist or its derivative Bolshevik regime, personal liberty would disappear. Lenine admits that only a dictatorship can assure a central control. This control must be perpetuated to secure equal distribution of work and of products, by means of inquisitorial interference with privacy, that would make the most rabid sumptuary laws a bagatelle in comparison.

Finally the intelligent citizen should note that many of the radical moves to which unions are unwittingly committed, are often framed by radical secret committees as crafty as any malefactors of the capitalistic board of directors, and put through owing to the habit fathers of families have of staying at home meeting nights. So leadership slips to an irresponsible group who do not really represent labor. Labor that does its thinking by proxy, and is led by the nose, is not intelligent, yet these tools of other brains would resent being called slaves of the snap resolution.

A second fundamental principle of reconstruction is the development of character in the individual.

It is the serious conviction of thinking men of experience, that most of our ills to-day are due to lack of character to be ascribed to the absence of practical religion. Character is that which prompts moral action, and practical religion is the only sufficient stimulus and sanction to moral action. Morals cannot be taught on the grounds of propriety and expediency, for when interest, passion or the heart's craving outweigh, such sanctions are of little avail. It is not enough to inculcate that to be good is becoming, that truth is beautiful, that justice is useful, that honesty is the best policy. Duty, honor, loyalty, self-control, are high-sounding words, but in practice only the injunction of an all-seeing, all-remembering God, is a motive strong enough to ensure righteous action in all circumstances and at all times. The pagans of old knew what was what, but the mere knowledge in them bore no fruit. Our friends, the enemy

who advocate the materialistic interpretation of history by eliminating God, make morals a matter of convention or convenience.

As a consequence it follows that education alone is not a panacea, for it often gives teeth to the lion of pride, and fangs to the serpent of vice. Nor is legislation a cure-all, for our best framed enactments are usually compromises which may be driven through with a coach and four.

In view of the foregoing it is becoming more and more evident that a potent cause of the distinct drift of past years towards materialism and its sequel of lawlessness and licentiousness, is the lack of proper religious instruction in the vital formative period of child life. When to this is added the gradual disappearance of the Christian home by legalised divorce and sordid theories of race suicide, what wonder a generation is growing up unchurched, devoid of a sense of responsibility, lazy, lawless,—in a word, bad citizens. The remedy is obvious.

In this connection it is very regrettable that there does not seem to be enough of those who cling to the Christian ideal to prevent placing British Columbia on the map as the most irreligious corner of the continent.

Some time ago, official representatives of four leading communions of this city, Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Catholic, approached the Provincial Government for relief from Church taxation which threatened to drive religious influence from the congested districts. They were willing to meet opposition halfway by confining their plea for exemption to the site actually used for divine worship; they were willing even to accept a flat rate for the sake of peace. But the vote of the solons of the house was adverse. Yet we were told that our soldiers were fighting for this civilisation of ours built up by Christianity, against the kultur of Odin and Thor. While our boys at the front were dying for our Christian heritage, our politicians at Victoria were voting the Christian ideal out of existence. Perhaps now with the forces of anarchy rapidly aligning themselves against Christianity they may remember the warning "Unless the Lord build the house, in vain will they build it."

A third important fundamental principle in reconstruction is co-operation in the development of a community spirit.

This does not mean "business as usual" a slogan of the exploiters, it means "better business." We must begin by eliminating the business conscience as distinct from the ordinary garden variety, that conscience which condones sharp practice and graft on the ground that the end justifies the means, and that everybody does it, whose motto is 'get money, honestly if you can, but get it,' or in colloquial language, 'do others before they do you.' They remind one of the darkey who, when asked "Look here Sam, don't you believe an honest man is the noblest work of God?" answered "I'se done given up the notion of being the noblest work of God, all I asks is to make a livin'." The return from cut-throat competition where envy and malice play a part, to co-operation along the lines of Christian ethics, the golden rule is indispensable for reconstruction.

There are other contagions besides business dishonesty, which we must work together to prevent. While pointing to the serum of religion as a radical cure, it is our duty to co-operate on the basis of our common citizenship to make it hard to transgress, to sterilise ulcers on the body politic, to prevent all injustice economic or otherwise. This corporate activity is a function in which all, Protestant or Catholic, laborer or capitalist, should stand shoulder to shoulder to secure the strength of union in social service.

If we can and do work together to make laws regulating expenditure on roads and bridges, why can we not do the same to see that social regulations are what we want, making straight the path of future generations and bridging over the morasses of commercialised wrong-doing.

With all the machinery of government at our disposal it is surprising that more has not been done to exemplify the social efficiency of democracy. Rule of the people has not always been by the people nor for the people.

If we get together to use the means of governing we can easily prevent capital doing as it pleases because it owns.

If we only want to do it we can make actual the truth of the manifesto of the British Labor Party, that "it is just as much a function of government to safeguard the interests of communities as a whole, and those of all grades and sections of consumers in the matter of prices, as to protect the rights of wage earners in matters of wages, bonus and sanitation."

We can borrow from the Soviet idea, '*fas est ab hoste doceri*,' that conviction that workers are best represented by their own delegates, and broaden out the principle to include all elements of citizenship with none dictator. We can improve our polling system so that a group of ignoramuses may not veto the vote of technical experts, and we can so prevent the pooling of issues, that to get some desired legislation we are not obliged to include objectionable extras, as for instance when people voted prohibition because it was the only bill before the people that would abolish the bar. Already in school management steps have been taken towards technical control.

We can mitigate the evil of party politics, which though normally a corrective on arbitrary legislations too often degenerates into hide-bound partisanship, and the spoils system. We can do it by recognising only honesty and patriotism as against 'organised appetite for office.'

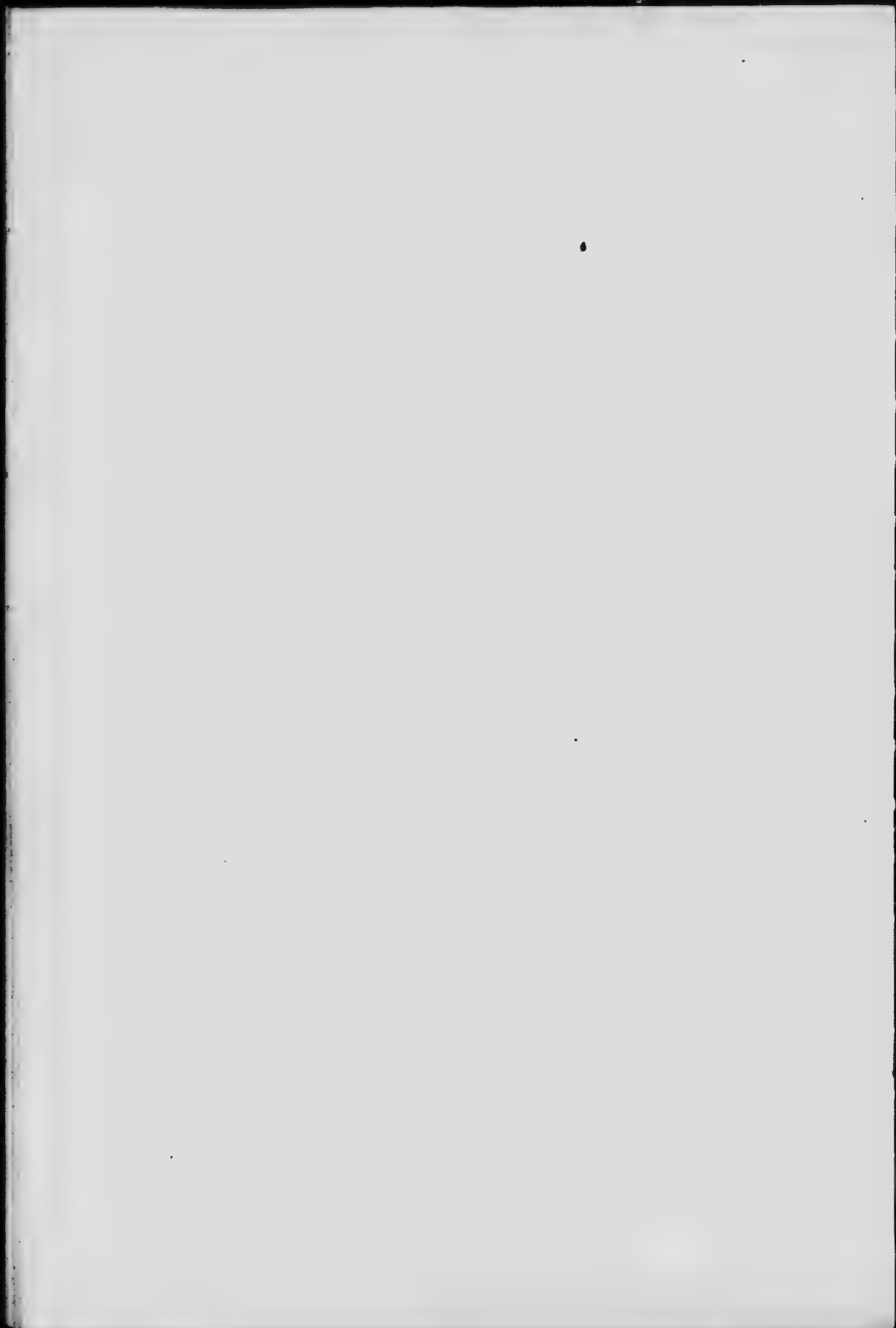
We can foster remedial legislation, especially along lines of co-operation in the management, and sharing in the profit of industry and government control, if not ownership, of natural monopolies.

We can avoid the inconsistency of appealing to a man's manhood to go to the front, and ignoring it when he comes back looking for a job. The proper repatriation of the returned soldier who has given all he had to stand between us and harm is the test that will show whether we stay-at-homes are worth fighting for.

And in thus giving thought and effort to prevent the machinery of government falling into the hands either of the professional politician or of the professional agitator, each group as well as each individual should contribute its best, labor its practical sense, business its progressive spirit, the learned profession their culture, women the traditions of the home, the soldiers the fire of patriotism, and the clergy the message of higher things.

With minds trained and hearts right, this family spirit will make for our Canadian patrimony a new era of justice and happiness and equality of opportunity, one bigger union, and we shall not need any foreigners to dictate to us a better way.

Vancouver is a beautiful city, but a sleeping beauty, very much asleep, trusting no doubt to the two lions, the Provincial and the Federal Governments, should trouble come. But like the lions over the inlet, no c no which way these are looking, and they are seemingly aff' with motor-ataxia.



Role of the Catholic Church

"You are the salt of the earth. You are the light of the world."
(St. Matt. V., 13-14.)

SINCE the writing of history has entered on its modern phase, the presentation of documentary evidence shorn of the biased paraphrasing and interpretations that for the past three hundred years especially, have made much of it a conspiracy against truth, the Catholic Church is coming to its own as the acknowledged mother of civilisation.

Of course documentary evidence will not convince the prejudiced man whose mania is to bring charges against the Church, whatever she does. When she insists on spirituals, he will maintain that she is too unworldly in urging her children to fling back God's gifts, and to shut themselves away from the world's work. When she steps into the arena of human managements, he complains that she is interfering in educational and social problems and should stick to her last. This is the man who speaks of the "Dark Ages," and calls the Church of to-day "reactionary."

His intransigent malice is not shared by the majority of outsiders who fail to subscribe to the Church's claim to motherhood of civilisation. Their fault is rather ignorance, often of an invincible kind which may co-exist with good faith and sincerity.

The mentality of the non-Catholic must not be ignored in discussing the role of the Church of to-day. For the Church to preside as the directing influence in the reconstruction of the world means not only to inculcate on her children their duty to withstand by private counsel and public action all erroneous teachings on vital issues affecting faith and morals, but in the words of Cardinal Bourne, "she aims to do so, in conjunction with those who accept even unconsciously the guidance of the Church in these matters, even though they do not admit her authority. She calls on all good men and true to oppose the menace of those who, having abandoned Christianity, find themselves constrained to revert to theories which Christ condemned, and are in reality striving to bring back a non-Christian and pagan constitution of the world."

In this work the Church brings not only the abiding Spirit of God which will not fail, and her sacraments, but as well the human agencies of her marvellous organization along the lines of intellectual and cultural enlightenment. The lay apostolate is not a negligible factor.

It is not our purpose this evening to discuss the restoration of all things in Christ from the viewpoint of the working of the grace of God through the prayer of faith that moves mountains, the word of power that breaks down the cedars, and the sacramental dispensation. Let us but note in passing, that if everyone went to confession and meant it, society would be speedily reformed from the heart and mind outward, and also that when the saintly Pius X insisted on early and frequent communion, he was but speaking the mind of the Master, who gave another food for the life of the world than merely bread alone.

Let us confine ourselves now to the human agencies of the Church of Him who, man himself, did not scorn or dispense with human ways, whose great Apostle gloried in making himself 'all things to all men.' These human ways are the complement of grace in Christian co-operation, and are part and parcel of the Church's influence in her task of renovating society.

When we say these agencies are intellectual and cultural, we mean that the world must know the truth to be made free, and that good works are the test. 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' 'Tis the duty of the Catholic Church and of Catholics to educate and to give example.

Especially in a country such as ours is this intellectual and cultural program important, if we wish to have the Catholic Church recognised as the saving influence in the world.

The environment of 'the little flock' varies the world over. Belloc distinguishes three types of Catholic society— first, independent states whose religious traditions have not been broken off in the sixteenth century, such as France and Spain, where the atmosphere is Catholic, and antagonism clear-cut. Then there are Catholic peoples dominated by non-Catholic powers such as Ireland, Poland, and in a degree French-Canada, in which racial spirit plays a part. Finally there is Catholic society without any traditional or racial bond as in Great Britain and the United States.

This third condition is ours in English-speaking Canada. It is not the ideal; it means lack of numbers, cohesion and power; it means a certain anaemia if you will, with a tendency to the influence of environment. That is why, especially with us, intellectual and cultural activity on Catholic lines is important.

English-speaking countries are largely identified with democracy, but have also been nursed for the last three centuries on Protestant traditions. The atmosphere of public opinion in which we live is the product of ideas which have been moulded by a language and crystallised by a literature, anti-Catholic and non-Catholic.

But our intellectual work has started. Just as the Latin speech and the Roman law were baptised and consecrated, so with us Newman and Lingard have broken the spell, and the English-speaking Catholic voice is growing. Perhaps the greatest contribution poor Ireland has made to the world was that she almost lost her language to redeem the English speech of America.

Along cultural lines the Church is emerging again as the leader in hospital and child welfare work; she is gaining recognition as the sure guardian of the Rock of Ages, that the anarchist would blast to pieces, and her Mannings and her Gibbons are leaders in the Israel of sane democracy.

The role of the Church in this century is to confirm these things just baptised, the English language and representative government. There are many reasons for optimism.

Thinkers are coming to look to the Church in the light of a receiver for the many bankruptcies with which the threshold of the twentieth century is cluttered up. Materialistic science has gone bankrupt in its atheistic prophecies, and the pendulum is swinging over to the weird schools of psychology and spiritism; education has gone bankrupt, and parents are turning from the Godless school to look elsewhere for the goodness and discipline and knowledge of the next generation; authority has gone bankrupt, and the rule of the cunning and the strong is in favour; and the economic system is almost broken down, so much so that society trembles at the menace

of the Bolshevik. In all this disorder men feel that religion is needed, and in their heart of hearts they suspect that the old mother Church has the most consistent credentials of a mission to conserve in man the consciousness that God has created him with duties as well as rights. They are looking our way, and it is our duty to help them by word and example to recognise the gift of God.

In our present economic crisis we should concentrate on helping them to know the Church's record in social reform.

We can show how, with the settlement of the lands of Europe; and the establishment of commercial relationships, she left a legacy of law, the Canon law which contained the best of the old Roman jurisprudence, adapted and tempered by the humanitarian instinct of Christianity, and how here arose the liberty of free peoples, especially in England, where, under her benign guidance, the laws of Edward the Confessor were affirmed and elaborated in a masterly way in the Great Charter, a bishops' charter, which established not only for the mother of parliaments but for many states, our representative institutions.

We can show how, in the architectural triumphs that dot Europe, we have evidence of the efficiency of the technical schools that sprang up under the aegis of the episcopate, and how the Church's fostering of the crafts laid the foundation of the guild system that made of Middle Age Europe a hive of honest and free industry, devoid of class hatred, and made England 'merrie England,' 'where every rood of ground maintained its man,' and as Tom Mann puts it 'men used their brains and were not machines.'

We can show what it means in favor of the Church of the poor, to find that not until the monasteries were looted in England were poor-laws and the poor-house invented, and also what it means to read Virgil's testimony that 'it was reserved for the Catholic Church to establish institutions for those suffering from disease,' or to find that one half of the beds for acute cases in the United States to-day are in the Sisters' hospitals.

Catholics should know and make known that from the days when the long-haired kings pitched their tents in the Roman Campagna, down through ten centuries the Church has shepherded civilisation, freeing the slave, founding the family, mothering nations, curbing the tyranny of rulers. In the words of Maitland, not a suspect witness, "the monasteries or centres of church influence were beyond all price in those days of turbulence and misrule, as central points whence agriculture was to spread over bleak hills and barren downs and marshy plains, to deal bread to millions perishing from hunger and its pestilential train, as repositories of the learning that was, and that was to be, as nurseries of art and science, giving stimulus, the means and the reward to invention, as the nucleus of the city, which in after days of pride would crown its palace and its bulwark with the cross of the cathedral."

Now that history is repeating itself, the words of Maitland come to mind, "days of misrule and turbulence," "millions perishing from hunger and its pestilential train," and let us add, another Mahomet on the horizon with his economic religion of the sword. Is not the presumption in favor of the claim that the Catholic Church can provide the remedy for this present unrest and trouble. Our intellectual role is to help make this presumption in outsiders a conviction.

Our cultural role means going down into the arena of the world-movement and being known by our fruits. The Church is there with

her schools and her hospitals, her devoted corps of elite men and women bent on the exemplification of the spiritual and corporal works of mercy, her lay organisations. But her role involves each one of us individually in our own lives, in our contributions of all things that make for good citizenship.

Remember that the practical Catholic contributes things of great value. He contributes the object lessons of his hope in the hereafter, his spirit of reverence, his respect for constituted authority, his ideal of family life, his patriotism born of the family idea, and the international sympathy that goes with a universal church. He stands irreconcilably for the rights of God, and builds churches and supports confessional schools that His name may not be forgotten. His attitude towards divorce and race suicide is an asset for the commonwealth. If he goes to confession sincerely his business conscience must square with the Decalogue. Withal he is very human, averse to extremes that discount legitimate enjoyment.

What a potent leaven Catholic lay action and example can be in conservative reconstruction in our present crisis if Catholic working men especially live up to their professions. For the faithful are largely recruited from the toilers; to-day, as at Bethlehem, the shepherds and kings receive the Saviour, while the traders ignore His star. Catholic responsibilities in reconstruction are summed up in the words 'Noblesse oblige.'

Especially the duty of the hour is to lead in opposition to any plan to destroy the right to property or any communism that logically includes anything a man may covet, and to lead in zeal for the rights of labor, for the removal of abuse of trusteeship of wealth, for reform of government that none may be denied an adequate living, and equality of opportunity. This means making influence a prayer and the vote a sacrament. This is our cultural program.

Already the Catholic hierarchy of the United States have an alternative to the radicals, and to the die-hard monopolists. It proposes—the restriction of the proportion of women in industry to the smallest practical limits—the retention of the War Labor Board for peace problems—the maintenance of present wage rates to compensate for loss during the fluctuations of the cost of living in the past few years—the reduction of the cost of living by government control and competition, and by co-operative stores, eliminating to a degree the middleman—the participation of labor in business management by representation on the industrial part of it—the ownership of the means of production and of corporate stock, at least in part, by hitherto wage-earners—finally the abolition and control of monopolies by taxation of incomes, excess profits and inheritance.

In all this the right of individual ownership is to be safeguarded and as well the present industrial system in its main outlines.

'Tis not an infallible pronouncement, but it is a sign that somehow or another, a revision of industrial relationships is at hand. That the attitude of the bishops towards co-partnership is not visionary is shown by the record of the South Metropolitan gas companies of England, representing an investment of two hundred and fifty million dollars, in which the laborer receives every year a share in the profits which he invests in the business, thereby sharing interest in the concern and responsibilities of management. According to Mr. Livesay "the promoter of the experiment said that there was never a prouder moment in his life than when he was able to stand up before

his shareholders and tell them that as a result of co-partnership and the spirit of brotherhood which it engendered, the company had been able first, to pay their employees higher wages than any other gas workers in the kingdom, secondly, to pay the shareholders a higher dividend, and thirdly, to sell gas at a lower price." With such evidence and Earl Grey's pronouncement that co-partnership implies common sense and the ten commandments, it looks as though the mediaeval guild plan comprising master and workmen were about to be resurrected.

This initiative on the part of the bishops indicates that the Christian priest and levite are not going to leave it all to the good Samaritan. They endorse heroic remedies because they know the enemy that lurks in radicalism. They know that the spoliators of their Church are to-day face to face with a program of the spoliation of all property, that the advertisers of the emancipation of the human mind are face to face with its dangerous aberration of Godlessness, that the condoners of divorce are face to face with those who would efface family ties, that the appealers to national vanities are confronted with the spectre of the omnipotent State.

And in this hour of danger, the children of the great mistake are weighing the words of Catholic spokesmen. They turn wistfully to the old Mother, hoping to find a way to a common Christian program.

Their antagonism in the past has sharpened the energies of the Mother of civilisation. She is ready to repeat history, for she knows that Christ founded her to be the light of the world and the salt of the earth. She will yet bring with the Kingdom of God, balm of Gilead for the festering sores of social injustice.

